DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 161 987 UD 018 670

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TITLE Black Views of American Women: The View From Black Newspapers, 1865-1900.
PUB DATE [78]
NOTE 21p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Culture; *Black History; Black Literature; *Blacks; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); *Females; *Newspapers; Racial Discrimination; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Stereotypes

ABSTRACT

Although black journalists from 1865 to 1900 were more sensitive to stereotyping and discrimination than their white counterparts, the black papers approached women idealistically, rather than through the realistic situation in which black women existed or through their own awareness of the fact of oppression. The images and proscriptions of women in black papers did not change significantly in this time period, nor did they differ from those found in white papers. Surviving papers make it possible to discern an image of woman as a frail, often frivolous and scatterbrained gossip whose mission was caring for her home and children, serving as her husband's helpmate and maintaining the highest standards of morality. In fact, the experience of slavery had blunted delineations in male and female roles among blacks. Following emancipation, efforts to more sharply define sex roles were counseled and practiced. Black journalists challenged the negative stereotypes of black people fostered by whites, and upgraded the self-image of a usually degraded people. However, in a time period that required most black women to work for survival, newspapers presented irrational expectations, drawn from the white-inspired "cult of true womanhood." (Author/KR)

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Black Views of American Women:

The View From Black Newspapers, 1865-1900

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In 1889 Lucy Wilmot Smith, a Black journalist and educator, wrote in the Indianapolis Freeman "The educated Negro woman occupies advantages over the Caucasian woman of America, in that while the former has had to contest with her brother every inch of the ground for recognition, the Negro man, having had his sister by his side on plantations, and in rice swamps, keeps her there, now that he moves in other spheres." A survey of images of women presented by Black newspapers published from 1865 to 1900 suggests, however, that nineteenth century stereotypes of women's peculiar nature and restricted role were as commonly accepted and circulated in the Black press as the White throughout the three decades following the Civil War.[1]

During the first chaotic years of Reconstruction, Black newspapers appeared in many of the larger cities of both North and South to articulate myriad topics of concern to Black people. By the eighties there were over one hundred race papers, including many published in small towns. The editors of and writers for these papers were generally a male educated and intellectual elite among the Black population. A significant number of female journalists, however, precluded complete male domination. Although some of these women did accept and promote proscriptive views of "a womanly nature," as a group they were somewhat more tolerant of a liberalized view of women than were their male counterparts. Although a minority of Blacks subscribed to these papers, their impact reached far beyond the literate and affluent. Undoubtedly the papers were themselves influenced by the general Black population. Thus they are an important source in discerning whether the fact of their own oppression influenced Black people in developing and responding to restrictions on women.[2]

Less than a year after emancipation, the Augusta Loyal Georgian offered a guide to women in an editorial, "Women as the Helpmeet of Man." Black women, the editor cautioned, must learn new roles in freedom and these

roles should primarily be as wives and mothers. Slavery, he claimed, had little recognized their sex and they had "little opportunity for the development of a womanly nature." In October 1865 the Charleston (S.C.) Leader presented sharply contrasting roles for "girls and "young men." While it was encouraged that the former be allowed to "flit and flutter out their brief hour of butterfly experience," the young men were described as "the head and brains of a nation." The Augusta (Ga.) Colored American presented one of the first columns devoted exclusively to the female population. "The Fanny Column" discussed such problems as catching a husband and wives who spend too much money. The Austin (Texas) Free Man's Press described a cheerful wife at home as a man's "perpetual sunshine." The New Orleans Tribune was less sure of the advantages in marriage for men and warned them to beware but depicted it as the greatest concern of all women. The Tribune wrote of the "gentler sex," the "softer sex," and "our fair sisters." In November 1865 it presented a reprint from the New York Ledger which claimed, "God had made the sexes, that women, like children, cling to men, lean upon them for protection, care and love, look up to them as though they were superior in mind and body." Often the Tribune's column, "Local Intelligence," included jokes at women's expense.[3]

The New Orleans Weekly Louisianian, edited by Pinckney B.S. Pinchback, a Black Republican leader and lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, was the paper of the seventies that did more than any of those surveyed to belittle women and present a constructed view of their possible roles. "A Happy Woman," a poem appearing in the first issue of the paper, began, "Her Days are filled with homely tasks." The paper's several columns for women included mostly advice on fashion, marriage, housekeeping and child care. Pinchback appealed particularly to Black women to cease "studying to throw off the trammels that beset her pathway to see to the dignified place for which nature

intended her as a companion for men." The double standard that generally prevailed is illustrated by an article on "The Importance of Female Chastity," which concluded that because men's temptations were greater, their unchaste behavior was less a crime. Frequently quips in the paper degraded women. A typical example is a one-liner that appeared in a November 1877 edition which claimed, "Cremation as thus far dealt with shows that a woman's jaw bone holds out against fire the longest." The Louisianian would occasionally treat women more positively. In January 1875 Pinchback reported on a speaker at the Lenaeum Club who asserted that women had been unfairly accused of "not having a sense of knowledge, justice and reason" as well developed as that of men. He followed by predicting that soon all women would be demanding what they had been deprived of. On another occasion he condemned men who did not give female wage earners a chance to enter the labor market.[4]

In the 1880's and 1890's there was a considerable increase in the number of Black newspapers established and sustained. Almost all of these papers included special columns for women as well as articles and comments scattered through each issue. Although most were more restrained in their treatment of women than the Louisianian, all presented, to some degree, its view of women's nature and place.[5]

The New York Age, edited by T. Thomas Fortune and probably the most influential Black paper of this period, did not devote a great deal of attention to women, although it did include several columns devoted exclusively to them. Nellie F. Mossell, who wrote columns for several papers, contributed one to the Age which mixed fashion and homemaking with news of a wide variety of feminine activities. Although offering a broader range of opportunities, Mossell also portrayed the ideal of the middle class white homemaker in

columns such as one devoted exclusively to getting and keeping good servants. Mossell demanded a superior education for women because "it is the woman who prepares the man for success or failure in the fierce battle of life...." Views such as that of the "Rounder," that it was "divinely ordered that women find their most exalted life in domestic love and duty," were printed, although in this case challenged by several sources. In the spring of 1886 an enlightened column by "Ivey" discussed the cruelty of forcing women to lose their identity in men and concluded that women must fight until "girls are recognized from birth as human beings, and are raised and educated as such, independent of such a weak frivolity as sex." Most editorials, however, presented a more traditional view of woman's place. On one occasion, Fortune called for an end to "editorial disquisitions" on "our girls" because, "They are better on an average than the men, and stand in need of not half as much advice." But it was a defense within limits. "Our girls are doing their duty," he continued. "They are multiplying with remarkable rapidity and are growing lovelier and more fascinating every year." Occasionally the paper presented the common stereotypes of the foibles of women.[6]

The Washington Bee, edited by Calvin Chase, often discussed women in a variety of columns, articles and quips. The columns most often dealt with traditional topics for and about women. On a single day one column, "For Feminine Readers," included these divisions: bridal toilets, marriage among the Maoris, sewing with a woman's hair, how Sicilian girls get husbands, and fashion notes. Occasionally the columns, especially "Clara to Louise," the Bee's most enduring woman's column, and "About Women," a column of the late eighties, considered a wider range of female activity. Chase personally endorsed a traditional view of women's place. In late 1889, when married school teachers of Washington were forced to resign, he offered his hearty

approval as "certainly these ladies are presumed to have married gentlemen able to take care of them and their own sense of modesty should have been cause enough for them to have resigned after their marriage." The Bee also frequently offered reprints from the Ladies Home Journal with advice to women such as to remember that men preferred women whose hearts were stronger than their brains, "They Say," a column of one-liners, included the following in one issue: "Females often show their guilt, when they know they have committed an offense against their associates"; "Some women get too old to marry, hence they employ their time by tattling"; and "He is a very soft man, who will allow females to bring him news."[7]

The Cleveland Gazette, which was founded in 1883 and rapidly emerged as one of the most widely read Black papers, initially gave almost no attention to women's issues. By 1886 it had added several specialty columns such as "For the Fair Sex" and "Gossipy Notes on Matters Dear to the Average Feminine Heart," both of which were devoted almost exclusively to fashion.[8]

The Indianapolis Freeman, founded about the same time by E.E. Cooper and a rival to the Gazette in the Midwest, covered a wider range of women's activities than any of the paper's reviewed. Cooper prided himself on having the only Black illustrated weekly and his feature pictures and stories of prominent Blacks often included women. But behind this extended coverage was the generally accepted image of women's place and nature. In an 1890 edition, women were warned "to marry good men as God ordained them to do, cheer their husbands, learn to stay home and be content." The same year Cooper defended paying women less for the same job on the grounds that if unforseen heavy work was required, the men would do it. But throughout 1890 articles appeared praising the talents and efforts of women who moved out of their traditional place. Various columns, including "Concerning Women" and "Gossip

About Women" focused on unusual female employment.[9]

The inclusion of Meta E. Pelham on the editorial staff of the Detroit Plaindealer, another prominent Midwestern paper of the eighties and nineties, probably influenced the fairly broad treatment of women by that paper. Pelham wrote material scattered throughout the paper rather than special signed columns making it impossible to definitively conclude what was her work, but she was undoubtedly involved in a lengthy treatment of the achievements of Black women in journalism published in May, 1888.[10]

The Huntsville (Ala.) Gazette also had columns for women and jokes about them, but less often than most other papers until late 1889 when "In Womens Behalf" appeared. Here a more positive view of the activities and interests of women was presented than was usually seen. Editor Charles Hendley did, however, promote a double standard. Through 1890 he frequently campaigned for greater supervision of unmarried women by fathers and brothers. There were occasionally derogatory quips , but after 1889 Southern Black women reading the Gazette were presented with a wide range of options and opportunities.[11]

The Leavenworth Advocate printed little exclusively about or for women, although there were occasionally barbs about such things as females who talk too much and their need to perserve their virtue, learn to sew, and catch husbands. Its successor, the Leavenworth Herald, gave more attention to a wide range of female concerns. "Little Lines" appeared weekly and often included negative stereotypes such as, "A woman takes a wonderful amount of delight in doing something to spite or humiliate some other woman." The paper's women's column, "The Women," however, offered a more enlightened view of women with news of their activities in a variety of fields. During election periods it was devoted largely to women in the political arena.[12]

Although the intent and format of the several Black religious publications differed from that of secular ones, the image of women they presented was similar. The numerous quips and comments of the newspapers were absent in publications that included primarily contributed articles. Female authors frequently contributed but many of their works did not deal with feminine topics. The American Methodist Episcopal Church Review did devote several articles to women each year. One was a debate in the April 1886 issue on "The Ordination of Women What the Authority or It?". Editor Benjamin Turner agreed with the opponent of ordination who argued that "God had given her to a man for a helpmeet for him, and as such he ought to receive her and respect her, for that is the will of God." Other articles depicted women as "the softer sex," and "softer, sweeter and milder," then men. The article most critical of this view of women was one by Josephine J. Turpin denying women's frailty and arguing for equal co-education.[13]

It was from the perspective of these traditional views of woman's unique nature and destiny that Black editors considered specific women's issues. Of the many specific issues concerning women's place debated in the late nineteenth century, women's suffrage elicited the greatest attention and emotional response. Both the Black male's sanction of and opposition to women's suffrage had roots far back in the abolitionist struggle. Frederick Douglass predated many women in demanding that they be granted the vote. However, some abolitionists, both Black and White, feared that association with women's rights would hurt the cause of Black freedom and thus either ignored the issue or condemned it.[14]

The fear of association with women's rights was especially manifested in the years immediately following the Civil War when emancipation had been achieved and Black suffrage seemed a possibility. During the five year debate over enfranchisement of the freedmen, many champions of women's suffrage, Black and White and some women, counseled a temporary hiatus to

demands for including females. The division was best manifested at the 1869 meeting of the Equal Rights Association. Douglass and Frances E.W. Harper, both ardent supporters of women's suffrage and Black speakers at the convention, agreed with the widely held sentiment that it was "the Negro's hour." One Black respondant completely condemned women's suffrage as a threat to the Black vote and even proclaimed, "God intended the male should dominate the female everywhere."[15]

In the limited number of extant issues of Black papers published in the immediate post-war period, there was copious discussion of Black suffrage while women's suffrage was usually rejected if mentioned at all. The Charleston Leader, New Orleans Black Republican, and Augusta (Ga.) Loyal Georgian all spoke of suffrage for "men" with no indication as to whether the word was intended as inclusive. The Black Republican was typical of these post-war papers in equating voting rights with military service.[16]

The New Orleans Tribune styled itself "the official organ of the friends of universal suffrage" and directed most of its attention to the suffrage question. "We refuse to desert our poor, uneducated and black brothers," the Tribune announced, with no similar endorsement for women. It also claimed that military service was a major means through which Black men had earned this right. The Tribune occasionally mentioned activities of women suffragists and reprinted editorials from other papers both for and against the movement. On one occasion, in answer to a woman who had written a letter pertaining to politics, the paper responded, "We like to see our fair sisters take part in our great struggle. The feelings of females are generous, and marked with more disinterestedness and consistency than those of men." But the Tribune never extended this to a demand for women's suffrage. Its opposition was evidenced by exclusion and implication until an editorial appearing in December 1866 entitled "Acting Like Men and Being Treated Like Women"

directly rejected equal political rights for women. "Women and children are placed, from a civil and political point of view, under a tutorage," it contended. "They do not enjoy a full liberty, and there are many acts that they are not competent to perform. In politics they are nonentities, having no right, occupying no situation of any public character, and exercising no power." The Tribune denied that this was due to the mental disability of women but viewed it as a situation created by their physical inability to defend the country. Because Black males had served in the military, the editor questioned, "If we were treated as men in the hour of peril, if we acted like men on the battlefield, we ask you why we should be considered women at the ballot box?"[17]

The Augusta (Ga.) Colored American , which also devoted considerable space to the question of Black suffrage, was more adamant in condemning women's suffrage. In a January 1866 editorial on voting, the editor defended exclusion of foreigners, children and women from the franchise. Women, he explained, "are excluded from the simple reason that they are or ought to be a part of man, and that their sphere is anywhere but in the arena of politics and governments...all civilized nations...keep her as they ought to keep her, away and free from the tumult of politics."[18]

The San Francisco Elevator was something of an exception to the tendency of Black papers published in the late 1860's to ignore or reject women's suffrage. On one occasion it referred to the movement as "a noble enterprise," and several times indirectly endorsed it. But P.A. Bell, editor of the paper, made it clear that Black male suffrage took priority; that military participation was a major factor in granting suffrage. A columnist for the paper completely contradicted the paper's general support when writing, "Her place is not at the ballot box in a crowd of noisy and half-intoxicated men - she can use her influence more effectively elsewhere."[19]

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment was passed forbidding denial of suffrage on the basis of race, class or previous condition of servitude. Black males rejoiced at their victory, little concerned about the continued exclusion of both Black and White women. Frederick Douglass did advocate that Black women also prepare to vote in anticipation of a sixteenth amendment, but generally the Black press viewed the suffage fight as complete.[20]

There are few Black papers extant for the ten year period following the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. Those available indicate that this rejection of women's suffrage continued for a decade after its passage. Pinchback gave no evidence in the Louisianian of his support for women voting and on several occasions indirectly condemned it. When Frances Harper delivered a pro-women's suffrage speech at Straight University, he responded with dismay that she was of this sort.[21]

Although in South Carolina some Black women had been allowed to vote in 1870, three years later the Georgetown Planet opposed any women voting with a rationale frequently heard from White opponents. Alice King, a columnist for the paper, insisted that if women won the vote, "She will gain, it is true, the right of giving one vote in her own person, but she will lose the command over many other votes." King claimed that women's mission was a more holy one than that of men, and should not be tainted by direct political involvement. Richard Cain, a Black congressman and editor of another South Carolina paper, the Charleston Missionary Record, rejected "the foolish claim of these crazy women who claim the right to vote under the fourteenth amendment."[22]

On the fifth anniversary of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the San Francisco Pacific Appeal devoted an entire issue to celebrating the event. The paper was replete with speeches praising Blacks for earning the right to vote with no mention of extending this right to women. Two

years later the Videlia (Lou.) Concordia Eagle noted that a women's suffrage bill had passed the Massachusetts Senate. "This," the paper insisted, "is as far as the compliment can go."[23]

By 1880, with the national guarantee of Black suffrage obviously permanent, Black editors were generally more willing to support extending the same right to women. Black males (and many females) continued to place greatest priority on enforcement of Black voting rights which were being steadily eroded in the post-Reconstruction South. Terrorism, economic coersion, bribery, and trickery had made a mockery of the Fifteenth Amendment by steadily reducing the free Black vote. Constitutional conventions from the late eighties through the early twentieth century virtually eliminated it. But because the chief obstacle to a free vote was now the White South rather than the federal government, the danger of association with women's suffrage was reduced. The large number of papers available for this period were generally more receptive to women voting although rarely staunch supporters.[24]

Fortune's New York Age was a politicaly oriented paper with forceful, if not always consistent, views on most issues. He supported women's suffrage but treated it as a secondary concern. The paper reported on Black women's suffrage advocates or groups but usually without editorial comment. Most often material on women's rights was written by women. When in December 1885 Nellie Mossell launched her column, "Our Womens Department," she discussed women's suffrage as though its right was a foregone conclusion. In the first column she recommended several sources, especially John Stuart Mill's Subjection of Women, a work whe was certain would sway many people to support the cause. The most emotional consideration of the issue in the Age was a series of letters that appeared in May and June 1888. "The Rounder" addressed "The Womens Question" with a lengthy letter to the

paper. He concluded that women should not enter politics for, "I do not think it wise to mix omelets and orations, chops and chicanery and pies and politics in this manner. Stay in your zone like flowers, and men will adore you." "E.F.J." was one of several respondents pointing out the irrationality of "The Rounder"'s sentiments. She claimed that as moulders of the public spirit, public affairs must be in woman's sphere.[25]

The Bee also featured political news but gave only occasional attention to the question of women in politics. Chase did support women's suffrage and at one time offered a rather spirited defense in an editorial "Shall Women Vote." In response to a debate between Frederick Douglass and George Washington Williams, a prominent Black historian and an opponent of women voting, Chase described Douglass' argument as the most eloquent and logical and concluded, "We cannot see any possible objection to female suffrage any more than to Negro suffrage." He reminded Black opponents of enfranchising that arguments they used had once been used against the race. In addition to his infrequent pro-women's suffrage editorials, there were articles on the efforts of women suffragists printed in the Bee. The paper's women's columns, notably "Clara to Louise," added occasional endorsement but Chase did not make his support a crusade.[26]

In Indianapolis Freeman, despite its rather broad treatment of many activities of women, gave the specific issue of women voting limited coverage. No consistent picture of the paper's opinion emerges. In April 1890 considerable favorable attention, including a front page picture, was given to Amelia Allen when she was elected to the Salina, Kansas School Board. Editorial response to women in the political arena appeared only occasionally and included both negative stereotypes as a joke about the limited female understanding of political affairs and more positive response to the activities of women

suffragists. As was true of most of the papers, the Freeman's greatest attention to women's suffrage was found in its several women's columns. The "Womens World" of December 3, 1892, noted with pride that the first woman to vote in Mississippi had been Black, but, in contrast, "Womens Sphere," in the same month, turned to an old argument: "Well, I claim that without the ballot more women cast votes, by influence, than men who are allowed the ballot."[27]

Southern Black papers did not reflect that region's particular animus against women voting. John Willis Menard, editor of the Jacksonville Southern Leader, was among the most outspoken proponents of women voting. In 1887 he wrote, "As Mothers mould the generations of the world and as women pay taxes and are amenable to the laws of the land, of course they are citizens and should be allowed to vote. Every man who loves justice and fair play ought to concede this fact." Charles C. Hendley, editor of the Huntsville Gazette, gave the suffrage movement his implied support but rarely overtly fought for it. "In Womens Behalf," a column appearing through 1889 and 1890, gave the paper's most spirited defense of women's suffrage. In another column, "Women at the Polls," appearing about the same time, the Gazette reprinted favorable reactions from areas in which women had a limited vote.[28]

Kansas was one of the earliest states to give women the municipal franchise. When the first Black women voted in 1889, the Leavenworth Advocate praised them as more true to Republican principles and warned the men, "Our women have worked like gallant soldiers and don't you forget it." In 1894 Blanche K. Bruce, nephew and namesake of the Mississippi senator, began editing the Leavenworth Herald and soon emerged as the editor most vocal for making women's suffrage complete. One of his first editorials concerning the issue, however, was to condemn women suffragists for using racist arguments. By this time a fairly common complaint of White female

suffragists was that they were more deserving of the vote than inferior Blacks. Bruce warned that Black men were at this time divided on the issue and that such arguments would lose women's suffrage potential support. After this warning, Bruce presented editorial support almost weekly for extending the suffrage. "The Women" was a Herald column concerned primarily with women in politics. "The arguments used by some men against women voting," it concluded, "are too thin and too weak to stand the test of any kind of reasoning,"[29]

"Woman Suffrage," an article by C. Hatfield Dickerson, was the A.M.E. Church Review's only in depth consideration of the question. Hatfield condemned women voting as "a monstrous reform against nature itself," and one that the majority of women did not want. Benjamin Tanner, editor of the Review, occasionally touched on the issue in his editorial page. He offered the rather unusual condemnation of women's suffrage because "The Negro was so assured of his rights that he sat down and patiently waited for them," and was therefore entitled whereas women were not. Although several Black female suffragists contributed to the Review, they did not directly consider the issue.[30]

The images and proscriptions of women presented in Black papers did not change significantly from 1865 to 1900. A surviving collection of papers published at the turn of the century, makes it possible to discern a broadly based pattern of views at the end of the century. The preponderate image that emerges is one of a beautiful but frail woman, often frivolous, gossipy and scatterbrained and at times devious, whose highest mission was caring for her home and children, serving as her husband's helpmate and maintaining the highest standards of morality.[31]

This image did not differ significantly from that found in White papers.

The context in which they were presented, however, differed considerably. The experience of slavery blunted, although it never destroyed, delineations of male and female roles among Blacks. Following emancipation, efforts to more sharply define sex roles were both counseled and practiced. The large number of Black women withdrawing from agricultural labor led to labor shortages in some parts of the South. "It is a matter of pride," one White Alabamian observed, for "the men to allow exemption from labor to their wives..."[32]

Through the late nineteenth century, ideas of the moral and societal "retrogression" of Black people, and sometimes particularly Black women, were popularized by White authors. "To all intends (sic) and purposes," Thomas Fortune wrote, "Afro-American black and colored women are not, in the main, considered to be women at all, except for base purposes, by Southern white men." It was the task of articulate Blacks, including journalists, to challenge the negative stereotypes fostered by Whites. They served the positive function of upgrading a usually degraded people. But the image usually drawn on, the White inspired "cult of true womanhood" was in many ways an unrealistic alternative. In a period they required most Black women to work for survival, newspapers often presented totally irrational expectations. Although Black journalists were more sensitive to stereotyping and discrimination than their White counterparts, they generally approached women with the ideal in mind, rather than through the realistic situation in which Black women existed or through their own awareness of the fact of oppression.[33]

Footnotes

[1] Indianapolis Freeman, February 23, 1889. There were hundreds of Black newspapers published between 1865 and 1900. Most of these do not survive in their entirety and many not at all. In 1947 most of those surviving were microfilmed by the Library of Congress and are thus readily available. All of these were surveyed but greatest attention was given those for which there is an extensive run. Information gleaned from the limited issues suggests that they were typical.

[2] Martin E. Dann (ed.), The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest For National Identity (New York, 1971), particularly 61-67; I. Garland Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors (Springfield, Mass., 1891), particularly 367-427, "Afro-American Women in Journalism."; Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Business History Review, 11 (1966), 467-490. Statistics on the circulation of Black newspapers are very limited, making it difficult to ascertain the magnitude of their impact. Thornbrough concludes that although circulation was small, the impact was considerable; that "In parts of the South where illiteracy was high groups would gather in barbershops or other meeting places to hear the Indianapolis Freeman or the New York Age read aloud, and copies of the papers would pass from hand to hand until literally disintegrated.",476.

[3] Augusta Loyal Georgian, February 3, 1866; Charleston (S.C.) Leader, October 7, 1865; Augusta (Ga.) Colored American, December, 1865; Austin (Texas) Free Man's Press, September 12, 1865; New Orleans Tribune, December 16, 23, 1865, November 6, 1867.

[4] New Orleans Weekly Louisianian December 18, 1870, January15, 1871, January 2, 1875, November 17, 1877, January 25, September 6, 1879.

[5] Greatest attention has been given to the New York Age, Washington Bee, Cleveland Gazette, Indianapolis Freeman, Detroit Plaindealer, and Huntsville Gazette, all of which were founded in the early 1880's and survived at least into the 1890's. The Age was first named the Globe, and than the Freeman, before being permanently called the Age in 1887. It is consistently referred to here as the Age to avoid confusion.

[6] New York Age, January 2, March 20, 1886; April 7, June 9, 1888.

[7] Washington Bee, April 18, September 19, 1885, May 14, 1887, December 14, 1889, April 12, 1890.

[8] Cleveland Gazette, August 7, 21, 1886.

[9] Indianapolis Freeman, January 4, August 23, 1890, September 3, 1892

[10] Detroit Plaindealer, May, 1888; Penn, 419-120.

[11] Huntsville Gazette, December 28, 1889, February 8, October 25, 1890.

[12] Leavenworth Advocate, May 1, 16, June 1, 1889; Leavenworth Herald, February 17, 1894.

[13] C. Hatfield Dickerson, "Women Suffrage," A.M.E. Church Review 4 (October, 1887), 196; Josephine J. Turpin, "A Plea For the Co-Education of the Sexes," A.M.E. Church Review 3 (January, 1887), 267-271; James H.A, Johnson, "Woman's Exalted Station," A.M.E. Church Review 13 (April, 1892), 402; J.P. Campbell and John M. Brown, "The Ordination of Women What The Authority For It?", A.M.E. Church Review 2 (April, 1886), 354-355.

[14] William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America (New York, 1869), 17-18; Benjamin Quarles, "Frederick Douglass and the Women's Rights Movement," The Journal of Negro History 25 (1940), 35-45.

[15] Quarles, 41-42; Shailer Mathews (ed.) The Woman Citizens Library VII (Chicago, 1914), 1663-1667; Helen Matthews Lewis, "The Woman Movement and the Negro Movement : Parallel Struggles for Rights," The Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers 19 (Charlottesville, Va., 1949), 36-37; Gerda Lerner (ed.) Black Women in White America" A Documentary History (New York, 1972), 245.

[16] Charleston Leader, October 7, 1865; New Orleans Black Republican, April 15, 1865; Augusta Loyal Georgian, January 20, 1866.

[17] New Orleans Tribune, June 11, 13, 25, 30, 1865, December 21, 1866, June 23, 1867.

[18] Augusta Colored American, January 13, 1866.

[19] San Francisco Elevator, May 5, 1865, June 4, July 2, 1869.

[20] Quarles, 41-42; Elsie M. Lewis, "The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900," The Journal of Southern History 21 (May, 1953), 195.

[21] New Orleans Weekly Louisianian, February 8, April 16, 20, September 28, 1871, November 9, 1872. During some of this period the paper was published twice weekly and referred to as the Semi-Weekly Louisianian.

[22] Georgetown (S.C.) Planet, May 31, 1873; Charleston (S.C.) Missionary Record, July 5, 1873.

[23] San Francisco Pacific Appeal, April 24, 1875; Vidalia (Lou.) Concordia Eagle, April 7, 1877.

[24] Two works by C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge, 1951) and The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York, 1955) are among the best of the numerous sources tracing the rise of disfranchisement in the South in the late nineteenth century.

[25] New York Age, December 13, 1884, December 26, 1885, August 26, 1887, May 12, 26, 1888.

[26] Washington Bee, February 28, 1885, March 17, 1888.

[27] Indianapolis Freeman, August 4, 1885, April 19, June 7, 1890, December 3, 1892.

[28] Jacksonville Southern Leader, as quoted in the New York Age, February 5, 1887; Huntsville Gazette, September 7, December 7, 21, 1889.

[29] Leavenworth Advocate, March 16, 23, 1889; Leavenworth Herald, May 26, 1894 and other issues through 1894.

[30] Dickerson, 198; Benjamin Tanner, "Review of North American Review Article, A.M.E. Church Review 2 (July, 1885), 101-102.

[31] Miscellaneous Negro Newspapers, Negro Newspapers on microfilm, reel 4.

[32] Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976), 167-168.

[33] Gutman, 531-544; Baltimore Afro-American, August 31, 1895.